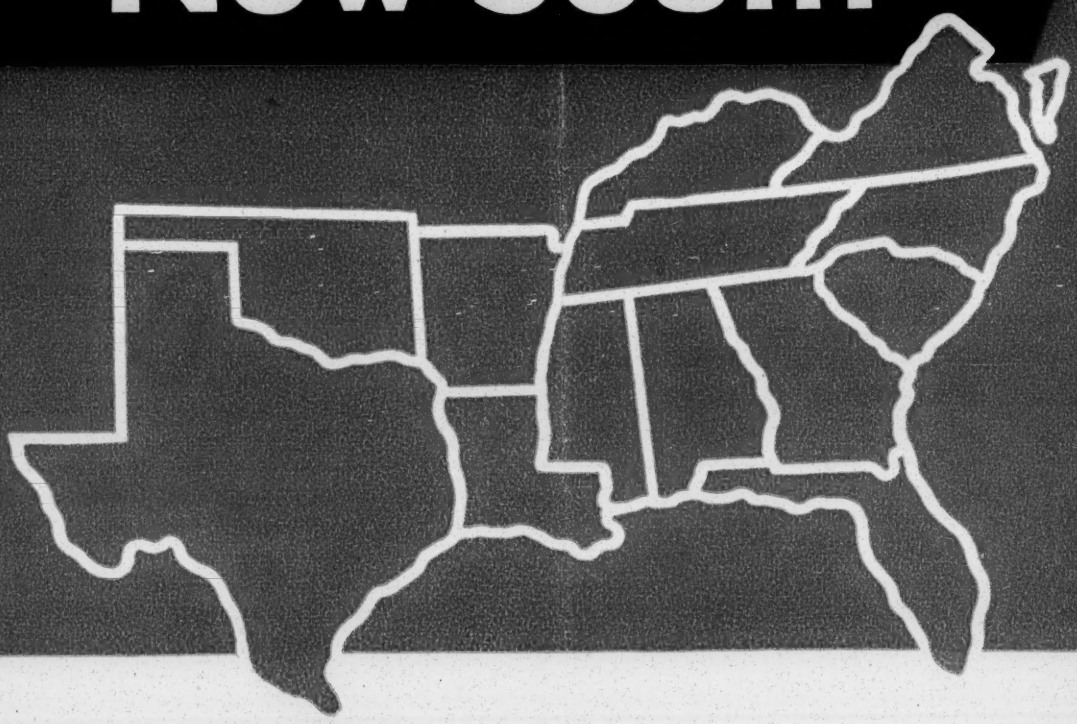
New South



- **The South Says It Will Come**
- **Deep South Facing Desegregation**
- **Harold C. Fleming**
  Ralph McGill
- **Virginia's Massive Resistance**
  Review by Kenneth Moreland

MAY / 1961

New South

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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May, 1961

Volume 16 **Number 5**

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Subscription rate . . . . . $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt

New South

Notes

May 17 of this year will mark the seventh anniversary of the Supreme Court decision against public school desegregation. And, although the pattern and degree of success of school desegregation on the seventh anniversary varied considerably from state-to-state, a recent poll indicates an encouraging trend in the South toward the realization that the Court decree cannot be evaded indefinitely.

In keeping with the anniversary, NEW SOUTH presents a round-up of what has happened in school desegregation in the region. An editorial on the growing realization that desegregation is inevitable also is included in the issue.

It also is appropriate that a book by a staff member of the Southern Regional Council is being released just prior to the anniversary of the Court decision. The book is VIRGINIA'S MASSIVE RESISTANCE by Benjamin Muse. Obviously, the fall of massive resistance to desegregation in Virginia has had and will have an effect on the success of school desegregation in Virginia and the rest of the South. And so, it is appropriate for this issue of NEW SOUTH to review Mr. Muse's book. The review is by a fellow Virginian, J. Kenneth Moreland, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Randolph Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia.

This issue also presents an interesting statement from Ted Lamb, a member of the Little Rock, Arkansas, Board of Education. Mr. Lamb speaks out concerning the federal court's ruling on pupil placement in the city and concerning twentieth century leadership.

The South Says It Will Come

An

Editorial

As we near the end of the seventh year since the Supreme Court declared segregation in the public schools unconstitutional the slow pace of adjustment to that ruling in the South is discouraging to many. But a positive trend is unmistakably under way. One vastly important change has taken place in Southern thinking.

Four years ago a book appeared with the title, *The Deep South Says 'Never.'* It was a survey of the opinion at the time. John Bartlow Martin, the author, found "resistance hardening in the mid-South," as well as the deep South. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in his foreword observed: "If you have any complacent dreams about integration being gradual but inevitable, this book will rouse you."

Now a recent Gallup Poll asked the question: "Will the day ever come?"—and 76% of Southerners answered, "Yes." The question had reference to the day when integration would take place in schools, restaurants and other public accommodations, and it was put to people in states "below the Mason-Dixon Line." Five % of these were uncertain. Only 19% now said "Never"

No large percentage of Southern white people welcome desegregation. A majority of them now see that it is inevitable, however, for a variety of reasons. The fatuous hope, once voiced in some responsible quarters, that the Supreme Court would eventually "reverse" its decision has now been virtually abandoned. Legislative subterfuge and evasive legal tactics have proven futile against the faithful pronouncements by federal courts of the law of the land. The plan, for a time superficially attractive to many, of substituting segregated private schools for public education is being increasingly recognized as a disastrous alternative. A more thoughtful element of Southerners is beginning to see a relentless rise of the colored races throughout the world and an ultimately irresistible demand that the stigma of race discrimination be removed.

By whatever reasoning the conclusion is reached, "Yes, it will come" is a far-reaching improvement over "Never." The demonstration of integration in actual practice, even when undertaken in grudging acceptance of the inevitable, is the best refutation of the mass both of well-meaning error and of malicious propaganda which has grown up around this tragically beclouded issue.

Deep South Now Facing School Desegregation

(Editor's Note) After the article below had been set in type, an event of possibly far-reaching significance to school desegregation occurred. The United States Justice Department, in the first action of this nature, asked the federal courts to force the reopening of public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia. Attorney General Robert Kennedy said, "We have tried to work this out to permit Negro children to go to school. They are unable to. Court orders are being nullified. Therefore, we have brought this action to protect the integrity of the judicial process of the United States." The result could be important, not only to Prince Edward County, but to many Southern localities which have laws which permit closing of public schools. For example, St. Helena Parish, Louisiana, under court order to desegregate schools, voted 1,147 to 56 in favor of closing public schools rather than desegregate.)

Desegregation of public schools on the seventh anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision presents a varied picture.

Such non-South states as Missouri, Kansas, Maryland, West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Delaware have desegregated or are rapidly desegregating their schools. The District of Columbia desegregated schools shortly after the Supreme Court decision and the border state of Kentucky and the western half of Texas also are well along in desegregation programs. Token desegregation is evident in Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas, Florida, and now even in the deep South state of Louisiana in one of two New Orleans schools under court order. The other deep South states of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi have yet to yield to the 1954 ruling against segregated public schools.

And it is rather obvious that neither of the four states will readily yield to desegregation, but it is also obvious that there is a softening of attitude on the part of many "massive resistance" segregationists, even in the deep South. And as a result, desegregation is expected to come more easily to the South than earlier events indicated.

As James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the *Richmond News-Leader* and father of the modern-day version of interposition, puts it, "What I am groping to say is what many a Southerner is seeing now, and hearing now. Aspects of segregation that once were his non-concern now trouble his spirit uncomfortably: Sit-ins. Segregated libraries. Certain job discrimination. Genuinely unequal schools in some areas. The Negro as citizen, as a political being possessed of equal rights, never had existed in the white

Southerner's past as he begins to exist now. The familiar black faces, seen through new glasses, are startlingly unfamiliar. A sense of the Negro point of view, totally unrecognized before, stirs uneasily in the conscious mind; and we resent the intruding sensation, and do not know exactly what to do about it."

Although it is apparent that the South actually does "not know exactly what to do about it," it also is apparent that there is a growing realization that desegregation is inevitable and must be accepted in some degree. There also is a growing awareness that Southern states and communities must avoid situations such as the one which existed in Little Rock and which now exists in New Orleans.

Inevitable

As the editorial, printed elsewhere in this issue, points out, 76% of Southerners in a recent Gallup Poll indicated their belief that school desegregation is inevitable. In August, 1957, only 45% of Southerners indicated they thought desegregation would occur. And the experience earlier this year of Georgia serves to illustrate that many Southern segregationists are unwilling to pay the price of complete "massive resistance."

When the chips were down, Georgia quickly turned from the path of "massive resistance" to a policy which could allow local communities to desegregate schools rather than close them. Incidents in Georgia probably are familiar to most persons, but a brief recap serves to show the changing thoughts and attitudes of Southerners toward segregation.

Two Negro students were admitted to the University of Georgia through court order early in January and, following a hectic "in-again, out-again" week, finally were permitted to complete their first quarter of study at the school.

Georgia Role

Important as the first breakthrough in segregated higher education in Georgia is to the Negro community, the fact that this was the turning point in Georgia's all-out resistance to secondary school desegregation is generally conceded to be more important. Partly as a result of the university action coming at the time it did and with public pressure to avoid Little Rock's and New Orleans' experiences building up, the Georgia Legislature struck its once formidable array of segregation laws from the books and proceeded to enact permissive type laws which will allow communities to desegregate.

As a result, Atlanta now has a much brighter chance of peacefully desegregating some of its schools in September. The city may be beset with troublemakers as was New Orleans; but it has the decided advantage of not having to fight the State Legislature at the same time. A year ago, few persons would predict that Atlanta schools might be desegregated without some closings. Now, although city officials are prepared for trouble should it come, school desegregation in the Georgia city has an excellent chance of succeeding at least on a beginning token basis.

If Atlanta desegregation occurs with little turmoil, this breakthrough in the deep South could herald a period of greater progress in desegregation in the moderate and upper South. As it becomes more and more apparent that the "hard core" South cannot successfully

Deep South

(Continued)

defy the Supreme Court edict, the pressure on other communities to retain segregation is lessened appreciably.

Regardless of the amount of voluntary desegregation in the South, however, it is quite apparent that future progress of school desegregation will continue to depend largely on the courts. Deep South cities cannot be expected even to consider school desegregation in the absence of court orders; and in localities which operate under pupil placement laws, court suits often appear necessary for initial desegregation or any progress other than the merest of token desegregation.

In November, *Southern School News* reported a total of 174 court cases filed in federal and state courts on segregation, desegregation and related issues. Voluntary desegregation in the South has been minimal, and the aforementioned pupil placement laws have operated to keep this "token."

Stronger Demand

But as desegregation spreads, even on the "token" basis, the demand for desegregation grows stronger and "token" desegregation is being attacked in the courts.

As has been demonstrated, the federal courts consistently have struck down segregation laws. "Massive resistance" fell before court orders in Little Rock and Virginia; and more recently, Louisiana, in extraordinary legislative sessions, vainly passed legislation in an attempt to circumvent the court order.

"Token" desegregation itself is under court attack, and federal courts show some indication of requiring impartial application of the pupil placement laws. For example, on March 2, the United States Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the Little Rock School Board is using the pupil assignment laws illegally. It further ordered that the board apply laws objectively to all students in the school district, not use the laws to preserve unconstitutional segregation. The board also was ordered to speed up its plan of desegregation.

Sufficient Time

In what may be a portent for the future, the court said, "As we approach the 1961-62 school year, sufficient time has elapsed to compel affirmative action . . . to the end that there may be integration in more than a token fashion."

Besides the regular court cases attacking segregation and the suits against unequal application of pupil placement laws, the court case involving Prince Edward County, Virginia, is one of the most significant cases growing out of the Supreme Court school decision. In Prince Edward County, one of the localities involved in the original Supreme Court decision, private schools have been established for white children and the county is the only locality in the United States where a system of secondary public education is not operated. White children received grants from the state and county this year to help pay for private education furnished in the county.

A suit to require the re-opening of public schools in Prince Edward County is now pending before the United States District Court. The result could be im-

portant to future progress of desegregation and public education in the South.

One cannot easily predict the future speed of desegregation in the South, but it has been amply demonstrated that the thoughts of the majority of Southerners, including many staunch segregationists, are now shifting from the original diehard position.

A brief report on the status of school desegregation in the 12 Southern states follows:

ALABAMA—No public school desegregation. Suit is pending against the Birmingham Board of Education.

ARKANSAS—Ten of the state's 228 bi-racial school districts have begun desegregation at some level. Desegregation began in Arkansas in 1954 in Charleston and Fayetteville, both on a voluntary basis. A total of 113 Negroes attend formerly all-white schools in the state.

FLORIDA—Dade County is the only Florida school system with desegregated schools. The county has 27 Negro students who attend formerly all-white classes in three schools, one of which serves Homestead Air Base. All Dade County desegregation has come voluntarily. Escambia County may be the first Florida school system desegregated under court order. On March 17 of this year, the county was given 90 days in which to file an acceptable plan for ending segregation.

GEORGIA — No secondary public school desegregation. Atlanta is under court order to desegregate the 11th and 12th grades in its school system when the 1961-62 term opens.

KENTUCKY—*Southern School News* reports that at the end of the 1959-60 term 128 of 171 bi-racial school districts were desegregated in policy with 105 of the total actually having desegregated classes. A total of 16,329 Negro students were reported attending classes with white students. In January, a white student, Miss Birdie McHugh, became the first white student in Louisville's Central High School, Kentucky's largest all-Negro school. Miss McHugh transferred from a desegregated school in the city.

LOUISIANA—One school district desegregated. Negroes attend two formerly all-white schools in New Orleans. A complete boycott of white students exists at one school while only 14 white students attend the other school.

MISSISSIPPI—No public school desegregation. No litigation pending.

NORTH CAROLINA — Ten school districts desegregated with a total of 82 Negroes attending formerly all-white schools. North Carolina's pupil placement law application is under attack in Durham in behalf of 283 Negro students.

SOUTH CAROLINA — No public school desegregation. The Coastal Carolina Citizens' Council received a charter March 20 for "Foundation for Independent Schools, Inc.," a private school foundation patterned after the Prince Edward County, Virginia, private school foundation.

TENNESSEE—Seven school districts desegregated including Oak Ridge, originally desegregated while under federal control. The government relinquished control of the school system to the city in January, 1960. A total of 383 Negro students now attend formerly all-white schools in the state. Davidson County,

Deep South

(Continued)

the seat of Nashville, the latest Tennessee community to desegregate, did so January 23 of this year. Negroes are attacking in federal courts the gradual plans of Davidson County and Knoxville city school system.

TEXAS—The western portion of the state is well along with desegregation. Friona, in West Texas, desegregated the year before the 1954 school decision; but this was not made public at the time. *Southern School News* estimates that approximately 3,500 Negroes now attend classes with white students.

VIRGINIA—Desegregation began in four systems in Virginia in February, 1959, after "massive resistance" fell before court orders. Eleven school districts in the state are now desegregated with a total of 208 Negro students attending formerly all-white schools. As mentioned, Prince Edward County maintains no public schools for its students.

The Quest for Equality

A Review

***The Quest for Equality*, by Robert J. Harris. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge. 1960. $4.00.**

This book, although gracefully written, is for lawyers and students of the law. Readers of *New South* will, nevertheless, be glad it has been done and some will want to read and study it, because it is an historical sketch of the ideal of equality in America, together with an authoritative review of the adoption of the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and its interpretation by the courts. The findings and opinions of the author, who is Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt, are well indicated by the following passage:

> The picture which some critics, out of ignorance or malice, have sought to draw of the Court as a ruthless destroyer of States' rights is just as much out of accord with reality as the idea of a Court that is reckless with precedent to the point of usurping the power to amend the Constitution. Whatever may be said in criticism of the Court's decisions involving equal rights must be tempered by an acknowledgment that these decisions are backed by impressive precedents, are warranted by the text of the Constitution, and are an expression of the revolutionary ideals of the American Republic as borrowed from the Stoic philosophers, the Christian Fathers, and John Locke, and as given vitally by Jefferson and other American Revolutionaries. Altogether, therefore, the Court has done no more than reaffirm the traditional American doctrine of equality before the law. . . . . L.W.D.

Harold C. Fleming

By
Ralph McGill
Publisher
Atlanta Constitution

It is difficult for me to think, offhand, of a person who has been more valuable to a changing South than has Harold Curtis Fleming. The major trouble with the Southern problem has not been merely that the white South didn't know the Negro South, but that also the white Southerners didn't really know each other. There was as much of an information and understanding lag between an average citizen in one of the more literate, large Southern cities and that of one of the backwoods county seats, as between the white and colored citizens.

The Southern Regional Council was created in 1944. It did not succeed any other organization. It was sociologically sui generis. It grew out of a need. What was going on? What did the Negro want? What were Southern attitudes? What were the bi-racial facts of Southern life? There were no answers to these questions and the Council was formed to supply them.

Harold Fleming joined it in 1947. One might repeat, with truth, the old cliche about the man and the moment coinciding. He came when new and momentous decisions were being made by courts and by individuals. There was a new frontier even then. A tremendous social and economic revolution had already begun. The South was, in general, largely unaware of it. It still is. But, the urban areas now pretty well know the facts.

One may look at what has happened and say one of two things—that a great deal has been done, or that not much has been accomplished. The truth is, that much has been done but all that has happened cannot be measured by the usual yardsticks because it is in the minds and consciences of men.

It is in this field that Harold Fleming has been most important. He brought to his work a keen mind and a trained one. He used the symbol of his Phi Beta Key to unlock a lot of mental doors. He opened up communications. He was able, as the Council's executive officer, to make the Council function effectively and admirably. It was never possible to charge him or it with having gone off half cocked, or as being incorrect in factual presentations. He brought disciplined decision, a product of experience, training, and a balanced perspective.

There isn't room here to say, fully, that he was for three and a half years a soldier in World War II; that he is an author and perhaps the best-informed man in the country on contemporary Southern affairs.

It is good to know he will be no further away than Washington and that another able and prepared man, Leslie W. Dunbar, succeeds him. The Council has been fortunate in attracting competent, dedicated executives.

Little Rock Board Member Asks Twentieth Century Leadership

This is the text of a statement released on March 4, 1961 by Ted Lamb, Little Rock School Board member.

The recent decision of the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals confirms my long-held conviction that the present policy of the School Board is leading Little Rock down the road to further strife and economic uncertainty.

Our town must come to the realization that the courts mean business in insisting that our school system be totally nondiscriminatory, both in theory and in practice, by 1963.

Up until now, the Tucker-dominated School Board has insisted that by some devious means we could out-trick, outmaneuver and defy the federal government. Such a policy is as foolish as it is disastrous.

I have opposed the present policies of the School Board from both a practical and a moral position. In practice the present policy is only leading to more strife and economic peril than we have as yet witnessed in Little Rock. When the School Board announced to the court that it would refuse to desegregate the schools on the junior high level in 1960, I protested that this foolhardy defiance was only inviting trouble. I have for some time pointed out the disastrous implications of some School Board members consistently voting against the admission of virtually all Negro applicants to Central and Hall High schools. Such practices only destroy a reasonable basis for dealing with the courts.

The federal court has now made clear that the Arkansas pupil assignment law can be used only if it serves as a means to make an orderly transition to desegregated schools by 1963. It cannot be used to thwart the intent of the court, which is that our schools become totally non-discriminatory in regard to race.

The School Board must now set itself to the task of acting in good faith to end discrimination in the school system by 1963. It must put an end to seemingly endless litigation which wastes taxpayers' dollars in exercises in futility. The moneys had best be spent in improved education and teachers' salaries.

The School Board has never seriously sought to rally the forces of Christianity and good will in our town to enter into compliance with the court on a moral basis. The Board seems to pay more attention to a handful of bigots and racists than to those who work for justice and righteousness in our city.

It is time we awakened to our moral and legal responsibilities, that are a part of participating in and living in the Twentieth Century.

Virginia's Massive Resistance

Reviewed by
J. Kenneth Moreland
Sociology and Anthropology
Department
Randolph Macon
Women's College

Virginia's Massive Resistance. Benjamin Muse. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 184, $3.95.

This political-historical study of Virginia's effort to circumvent the Supreme Court desegregation ruling of May 17, 1954, makes several notable contributions. As a carefully conceived and reported case study, the book not only clarifies what went on in Virginia during the crucial years of 1954 to 1960, but it has broader significance as well. There is much to be learned by Southerners outside of Virginia and, indeed, by all Americans.

For those who were bewildered by the twists and turns of events through the fateful years of Virginia's massive resistance (and who was not?), Muse's concise and readable account is enlightening. He puts into proper sequence and perspective such shifts in state policy as the change from initial indications of compliance with the desegregation ruling to limited desegregation in the Gray Commission Plan, the hasty discarding of the Gray Plan for all-out resistance against any desegregation, the subsequent closing of public schools and growing disillusionment with massive resistance, and Governor Almond's last bitter defiance on January 20, 1959, ("We have just begun to fight") followed by his complete turnabout eight days later when he sounded the end of massive resistance. The crucial part that Senator Byrd played in bringing massive resistance into being and his inability to prevent its demise are revealed; and the complex, inconsistent, and courageous stands of Governor Almond are brought into sharp focus. The reader's understanding of what went on and why is greatly increased.

The collapse of massive resistance in Virginia is shown to have important implications for the rest of the South. Muse speaks of it as "a corner turned," for Virginia demonstrated that "neither bravado nor chicanery, nor legislative stratagems, nor the Southern loyalties of Virginia-born jurists had caused fed-

Resistance

(Continued)

eral courts to swerve from faithful pronouncement of the law of the land . . ." It was made clear to Southerners that the only alternative to desegregation was the closing of public schools and that trying to substitute private for public schools would not work. Furthermore, according to the author, what happened in Virginia can help those Southern leaders who are willing to accept the Supreme Court ruling to move ahead with the task of adjustment.

Americans, north and south, can learn something about the functioning of democracy from this book. Muse emphasizes the great importance of the political factor in massive resistance, although he realizes that "the path toward solution is crowded with difficulties, both real and imagined, outside of the political realm." He believes that Virginia's politicians could have led Virginia, and probably the rest of the South, to an acceptance of the desegregation ruling. Instead, they carried the state down the tragic road of defiance, and, in so doing, encouraged extreme segregationists within Virginia and in other Southern states. Muse points out that the political factor continues to be crucially important in the problem, and that "it is through breaks in the political clouds that we must look for a change in the tone of public utterances, for the restoration of free discussion and for measures to make possible those beginnings of school integration in practice which cause imagined difficulties to disappear." The book does illustrate, however, that the situation in Virginia was influenced to some degree by those who were opposed to massive resistance and who refused to be silenced. Thus, the Virginia Council on Human Relations and ministerial associations acted to remind Virginians of the moral issue involved. When the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, Parent-Teachers Associations, the Virginia Committee on Public Schools, and, finally, powerful businessmen moved to save public education, massive resistance was defeated. Courageous expression of American ideals, however unpopular or seemingly hopeless at the time, had its effect.

The book is written in a dispassionate and calm manner. There is no trace of invective; rather, there is deep appreciation for and understanding of the complexities of the situation and the persons most directly involved, including those political leaders who not only failed to prepare their people for change but who made inevitable change more difficult. The author is both realistic and optimistic about the future of public schools in the South (which now means compliance with the desegregation ruling), as his concluding paragraph illustrates: "The South is not ready to listen to an assault upon prejudice from its political leaders, but men of good will can rally to this cause with a minimum of odium or political peril. They can fight to preserve public schools on the only terms on which public schools can be preserved. Idealists would like to raise a nobler standard, but in the present frame of reference that is enough. On that platform, and moving on from it in time, enlightened political leadership can surmount this hurdle and clear the path of advance to the South's great destiny."

If Agitators Kept Away, Most of Problems Solved

From
Macon Telegraph

Georgia still has within its grasp the opportunity to escape the futile calamity of other Southern states where lawless elements have fomented strife during racial crisis.

Our state has had a bitter dose in the violent demonstration on the University of Georgia campus. . . .

We have had an example of what can happen when a hard core of perhaps a hundred students out of 7,500 are incited to riot by outside agitators.

Nine non-college men were arrested in the campus upheaval. Eight of them have been identified as klansmen. Mark them well.

Emerging from under their rocks, the troublemakers move onto a campus dedicated to learning. Loud of mouth, empty of mind, they persuade decent young men to disgrace themselves before the state and nation.

. . . the editor of the student newspaper at the University said: "Most of the students were ashamed of what went on. . . . Only a few caused the riot . . . they were egged on by others. Most of the demonstrators were brought in."

Keep away the agitators who are unfit to set foot upon that venerable campus and the University's troubles, difficult as they are, can be resolved.

Gov. Vandiver had pledged the full resources of the state to keep the peace.

Had state troopers been readily available, Tuesday night's unfortunate violence might have been averted. The delay in rushing state force to the scene still has not been adequately explained.

But the chief executive now has put

"It is too bad that the delegates to the forthcoming centennial of the first Confederate shell fired at Fort Sumter cannot meet and be lodged in the battered and time-worn fort itself. However, the segregation issue which has stirred up half-forgotten—and better forgotten—memories has been compromised by the decision to meet, dine and lodge some or all of the delegates at the nonsegregated Charleston Naval Station. The Charleston hotels will thus not be compelled to recognize that nearly a century ago 'this nation, under God [had] a new birth of freedom.' "

New York Times
March 27, 1961

Agitators

(Continued)

every citizen on notice that he will not tolerate a breach of the peace. His words, backed by the police powers that are his to command, will have a calming influence.

So will the report that the FBI is looking into the violence at the University.

Riotous elements will stay checked so long as the cowardly agitators know that force will be answered with force.

Just as Federal Judge W. A. Bootle of Macon had no alternative under his oath but to uphold the Constitution of the United States, so the University officials have no alternative but to try to carry out, with as little disruption as possible, the orders of the court.

Their task has been made infinitely more difficult by the harsh, ill conceived statements of a handful of so-called state leaders. . . .

Georgia now finds itself entering the troublous times about which its citizens for so long have been forewarned.

The Athens case is only a sample of what is to follow unless . . . .

Responsible people keep leadership from falling into the hands of rabble-rousers.

Law enforcement officers keep close watch over developments and move in swiftly and firmly to deal with agitators.

All citizens remember that law and order must be maintained before any public problem can be resolved.

A Clarification

The March issue of NEW SOUTH published an analysis of the school crisis in New Orleans, including some discussion of its impact on business activity. The article noted a falling-off of tourist trade during Mardi Gras and also stated that "Leading stores reported business off 10 to 50% of normal during the Christmas season." This statement was based on reports published in highly reputable newspapers of business decline during November, the beginning of the Christmas sales season. The Federal Reserve System reports of department store sales for December and January, not yet available when the article was prepared, indicate some significant changes. NEW SOUTH regrets any mistaken impression its March analysis may have given on this point.

The Federal Reserve reports of department store sales show sales in November, 1960, off 9% from those of November, 1959. The December figures, however, show sales up 1% over the same month of the previous year, and in January, 1961, sales were even with those of January, 1960.

These developments would seem to indicate that the turbulence of last fall did hurt business in New Orleans but that department store sales rallied with the return of relative calm to the city. It is too early, in our opinion, to attempt to gauge the long term effects of the tensions of the current school year on the economic life of New Orleans.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"When I read in your newspaper that Negro dentists picketed a scientific dental meeting because they were excluded on account of their color, I was ashamed—ashamed of the shabby actions of a so-called professional organization, and as a white person ashamed before these Negro dentists who had to resort to this means to place their degrading situation on the public conscience. Does the South have a different standard of science too?"

Arthur J. Levin
in *Atlanta Constitution*
April 3, 1961

• • •

"If it had not been for the courageous action of the governor [of Georgia] and the legislature in clarifying the school situation, Lockheed, in my opinion, would not have received the [government] contract."

James V. Carmichael, President,
Scripto, Inc.,
Former Georgia political leader,
quoted in *Atlanta Journal*

• • •

"In the controversial field of civil rights, the Kennedy administration is showing common sense and political discretion. This the President made clear again in his press conference Thursday when he said that executive authority would be used continuously to promote 'equality of opportunity in all areas....' Kennedy is not asking for new laws but is working through executive orders and court cases to implement the laws already existing. This is the route of the least bitterness and will yield more lasting results."

Atlanta Constitution
March 25, 1961

• • •

"I believe that desegregation must move forward in accordance with the law of the land. I recognize the difficulties inherent in changing a system that has been rooted in our culture and economy for so many years. However, I am optimistic about the eventual outcome because of many notable instances of integration which indicate the capacity of the American people to observe both the spirit and the letter of the law."

Sterling M. McMurrin
U. S. Commissioner of Education
From April 4, 1961, news release

• • •

"...The Southern states, which in the early history of this country, made such magnificent contributions both to the philosophy of free government and to its establishment, now have a God-sent opportunity to do their history and their country a tremendous service. Your government cannot accept more racial riots and disturbances growing out of the efforts to educate children."

A South American diplomat
Quoted by Ralph McGill,
Atlanta Constitution
March 27, 1961

The Changing South in Print!

THE NATION as a whole has contributed to what New Orleans and the South are. The nation therefore cannot avoid the responsibility of helping the South. I think that much of the South would accept strong but tactful leadership on the race problem. Southerners are also Americans, they would like to act like Americans, they could be led to do so. There is a growing realization in the white South that it is in the wrong on the race issue. Of course we should have developed a Southern leadership to guide us; but, lacking this, we are open to persuasion by national leadership, because we are also Americans.

James McBride Dabbs, President
Southern Regional Council
in a letter in the *Reporter*

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